

The Progressive Farmer.

L. L. POLK, PROPRIETOR. BAYLUS CADE, EDITOR. J. W. DENMARK, BUSINESS MANAGER. Raleigh, N. C.

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Address all communications to THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER, Raleigh, N. C.

RALEIGH, N. C., JAN. 6, 1891. (This paper entered as second-class matter at the Post Office in Raleigh, N. C.)

The Progressive Farmer is the Official Organ of the N. C. Farmers' State Alliance.

Do you want your paper changed to another office? State the one at which you have been getting it.

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Our friends in writing to any of our advertisers, will favor us by mentioning the fact that they saw the advertisement in THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER.

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We are indebted to Postmaster General Wanamaker for valuable public documents.

The address of L. L. Polk, President of the National Alliance, is 344 D St., Washington, D. C. (Reform papers please copy)

BROTHER SINCLAIR, of the Sanford Express, called one day last week, and gave us a hearty welcome to the quill fraternity of North Carolina.

We want the postoffice address of C. M. Roberson, C. E. Webb and G. S. Hawkins. We have received a letter containing cash to be placed to their credit, and their address was not given.

SUNDAY morning, Dec. 28, the round house of the Raleigh and Gaston Railway was burned. There were seven teen locomotives—some of them new—burned. The loss has been estimated at \$50,000.

BROTHER RAMSEY, late associate editor of this paper, and now editor and owner of the Watchman, at Salisbury, gave us a pleasant call one day last week. We are always glad to see brother Ramsey.

The Convention was composed of a splendid lot of men and women. Through the laborious session of six days and nights, no member was called to order and no appeal was taken from the decision of the Chair.

The Twin City Daily office was destroyed by fire on Christmas Eve. But Phoenix-like, the paper, as the Twin City Daily Sentinel, arises from the flames and comes to our sanctum, bright, hopeful and newsy. Our regret at our contemporary's loss is greatly lessened by the evidence it has given us of brother Foy's heroic pluck and energy. "Adversity, like night, brings out the stars."

OUR correspondents will have to be patient with us. We could fill THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER with the letters on our desk. Of course we cannot print all these letters. We would gladly print them if we could. But our space is limited and we must do the best we can. If you do not see the letters you have written in THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER, don't get mad. Try again, and maybe you'll have better luck next time.

THE memorials of the National Farmers' Alliance and of some other industrial organizations, printed elsewhere in this issue, make it perfectly certain that the pork packers of the country, led by a Boston pork house, are trying to injure the farming interests of the South and Southwest, in the Conger bill, now before the Senate. These industrial organizations do not seek to antagonize any measure, pending or to be introduced, whose object is to secure to the people articles of pure food. They are in favor, be it remembered, of the Paddock pure food bill. The Conger bill is not

aimed against impure lard but against compound lard. The compound lard is composed of cotton seed oil, beef fat and the fat of the hog; and is as pure and wholesome as any article of lard can be. Let our readers remember that this Conger bill is another attempt of the monopolists to enrich themselves at the expense of the farmers and stock raisers.

Legislation is demanded in the public interest, requiring that the capital and mortgage bonds of a railroad shall never exceed its actual cash cost. Then the public would willingly pay a freight and passenger tariff which would net a fair remuneration to the owners. It is unfair to ask farmers and shippers to contribute to the payment of dividends on a sum two or three times the honest cost of a railroad. It is a swindle. The farmers should rebel against such injustice.

The above clipping from the American Cultivator expresses our sentiments exactly; and has more sense in it than many a thundering leader. It hits the mark exactly. Keep it going

A COMMITTEE of Kansas Senators appointed two years ago to recommend retrenchments in the expenditures of the State, has completed its work, and will give it into the hands of the Governor in a few days. If the recommendations of this committee shall be enacted into law by the legislature, there will be secured to the people of Kansas the most economical administration of public affairs which has ever been given to any State of this Union.

We note with pleasure that the new plan of reform provides for the supervision of railroads by the State. We congratulate the farmers of Kansas upon the work they have done in forcing these reforms.

You will observe in another column of this paper, to day, a general notice from a reliable boot and shoe house—Messrs. Hano & Wolf, 117 and 119 N. 8th street, Philadelphia, Pa. This is one of the largest wholesale boot and shoe houses in the United States, and a house that has built up an enormous business entirely through the merits of their goods. Messrs. Hano & Wolf will take pleasure in sending to any member of the Alliance their catalogue and price list, and any goods that may be selected. We trust every member in need of boots and shoes will send their orders to Messrs. Hano & Wolf, of 117 and 119 N 8th St., Philadelphia, Pa., where all orders will receive the best of care and most prompt attention.

We should feel much easier about the late fight betwixt troops of the United States and the Indians in Dakota, if we knew that the Indians had been treated fairly by the agents appointed by the government to deal with them. It is sickening to think of mounted troops riding down and killing women and little children, even if those women and children are savages. But we do not know the circumstances of the case, and we do not pretend to blame the troops. One thing about this Indian business is certain, the government should treat them with justice, and then it should make them behave themselves. But behave themselves they never will, so long as they live in a wild country and are allowed to retain their tribal organizations.

AGAINST VANCE. MR. EDITOR:—At a joint meeting of Juvenile and Rocky Mount Sub-Alliances, held in the town of Rocky Mount, N. C., on Dec 13th, 1890, it was unanimously resolved that we stand by the Sub-Treasury plan, and request our representatives in the legislature to carry out this resolution, Vance or no Vance.

Respectfully, Geo. W. PROCTOR, Sec'y.

We publish the above joint action of Juvenile and Rocky Mount Alliances. This action was taken before Senator Vance's late letter was made public. It is only fair to the Alliances and to our readers to say that we have on our desk resolutions to the same purport from the following Alliances, viz: Red House, Sandy Creek, White Oak, Deep Creek, Liberty, Gillsburg, Piney Forest, Harrellsville, Coinjock, Oak Grove, South Durham, Osgood, Womble, Oak Shoal, and Stoney Creek.

We assume that Senator Vance's late letter was not known to the brethren when their action was taken, and we await their pleasure.

DOES HE EVAD?

By reference to the correspondence in this issue of THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER it will be seen that some of our people think Senator Vance's letter to President Carr evades the issue presented to him in Carr's letter.

In this view of the case THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER does not concur. We think the Senator's letter is a full, fair, unequivocal answer to the question presented to him; and we make no doubt at all that Senator Vance will carry out in good faith any instructions which the General Assembly may give him, if such instructions do not involve him in a moral wrong; and, in case the instructions should involve a "moral wrong," he says it would be his duty to resign.

In all this paper has said in the past in opposition to the reelection of Senator Vance, we have never said one word that could be construed to the damage of his honesty or patriotism. We believe the Senator to be able, brave, honest and patriotic; and we have never said one word in criticism of him, or in opposition to him that would indicate that we held any other opinion of him. Our quarrel hitherto has been with the Senator's position, and not with the man.

As we said in our last issue, it is the duty of the General Assembly to instruct Senator Vance to vote for the Sub-Treasury plan, if they want him to vote for and support it. And we think these instructions should be given before a single ballot is taken for Senator.

One word more. If the General Assembly should deem it wise to give Senator Vance instructions, it is our opinion that these instructions should be as liberal as possible. The instructions should set forth clearly the ends to be attained, and leave the Senator the largest liberty of action in connection with the selection of his methods, which consists with the ends proposed. The Alliance should earnestly desire to make their Senator a warm friend to their measures of reform; and this they cannot do by unnecessarily circumscribing his action.

CAUTION.

The rapid growth of the Farmers' Alliance, and its astonishing success, achieved by its agitation of reform principles, are likely to beget an overweening confidence that may do the cause great harm. The laws relating to finance are, many of them, wickedly partial and oppressive. Many features of the system of national revenue are unphilosophic and hurtful. The statute books of the United States are burdened with enactments, which invite and help all sorts of selfish combinations of the few against the many.

The people, and especially the farmers, feel most keenly the evil effects of bad administration, as well as those of bad legislation. The people are beginning to understand their enormous power. They have about made up their minds to take matters into their own hands and apply, for their relief, the remedies they have been asking from the law-makers of the country for years. Indignant under a sense of injustice, and impelled by the mockery of those whom they have heretofore trusted, there is danger that they may commit themselves to schemes of reform that will not stand the test of experience.

No thoughtful person needs to be told that a scheme of reform enacted into law, which would break down in practice, would be fatal to the present movement of the farmers, and of other working people.

Hasty legislation is always imperfect legislation, and very often it is absolutely bad legislation. If the farmers and other laboring men of this country are to take any large and honorable part in governing themselves in the future, they must make so sure of every step forward as that there can be no successful demands made upon them for retrogression. Retreat will be disaster.

The cause represented by the reform-demanding farmers and laborers of this country at the present time is as just as any cause ever was; and cautious, patient action is sure to vindicate its justness. Let us, therefore, go about the matter of reforming and purifying the politics of the country with the calmness of men who know what is right, and who mean to have

what is right, not only for themselves but for all other classes of their fellow citizens.

We see signs of most cheering hope in the manifest eagerness of the people to read upon the great questions of popular government. Let them read—read carefully, widely and deeply—upon all these great questions. Turn on the light; teach the people to think; cultivate the habit of examining and digesting every feature of existing law, and every part of any plans that may be offered for enactment into law; and then there will be no longer need to fear that our reform will be forced to go backward.

It would be idle to attempt to disguise the fact that many Alliancemen—good and true Alliancemen—in this country entertain serious doubts about both the desirability and practicability of some of the measures that have been offered for their acceptance. It is unwise to brush these men aside as enemies of our order and obstructionists to our reforms because they do not agree with us upon all points. Whether they are right or wrong is not now the question. The question is, shall there be an open, free, full and fair discussion of all reasonable plans and opinions, and the ultimate selection of those to be carried through, which are best for all classes of our citizenship?

Some of the anti reform papers are expressing a fear that the farmers will use their immense power to bring about hasty and ill digested legislation. It is only fair to assume that these papers are honest in expressing these fears. But if it should turn out that they are dishonest, and are only predicting hasty action in the hope of bringing it about, that would not make it any the less necessary for us to be sure of every step before taking it.

For one, we believe in the Alliance. We think its principles are just and righteous; and we want to see those principles so perfectly embodied in the institutions of the country that no member of a future generation shall have cause to regret the rise and reign of the Farmers' Alliance.

CHIVALRY IN JOURNALISM.

It speaks well for human nature, and it speaks well for journalism in North Carolina, when one member of the profession has the chivalrous courage, the high-class manhood, to come to the defense of one of his order, whom he regards as having been most foully assailed. This courage, this manhood, Mr. Josephus Daniels, editor of the State Chronicle, of this city, displayed when he, last week, took up the task of clearing the character of the editor of this paper from most foul and most false aspersions cast upon it without provocation of any sort. We take this method of assuring Mr. Daniels and the public generally of our profound sense of gratitude to him for the service which he has rendered to us, and to the cause of decent journalism, at one and the same time.

MR. HAL. W. AYER

Mr. Hal. W. Ayer retires from the State Chronicle to day to become the private secretary of Col. L. L. Polk, President of the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union. He will leave this morning to enter upon his new labors. He is in thorough accord and sympathy with the reforms for which the Alliance is earnestly striving and will prove of real service to Col. Polk and the Alliance.

We have no words with which to express our appreciation of the labors of Mr. Ayer or the sincere esteem in which we hold him. Much of the excellence of the State Chronicle has been due to his ability as a journalist; and in his withdrawal we feel the loss at once of an efficient co-worker and esteemed friend. He will write occasionally letters to the Chronicle and thus keep up his connection with the paper.

No young man in Raleigh is held in higher esteem by the general public than Mr. Ayer, and the Chronicle voices the sentiment of the entire community in wishing for him every success and happiness in his new field of labor and usefulness.—State Chronicle, 30th.

We join the Chronicle in good wishes for Mr. Ayer. While we regret to lose him from the ranks of journalism in North Carolina, we rejoice that he goes to the National Capital where he will have an opportunity to study men and measures under the most favorable circumstances.

THE PUBLIC PRINTING

Inasmuch as it has been charged that THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER has been conspiring to secure for itself the Public Printing contract for the next two years, it will not be amiss to say one or two things upon that subject.

THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER does not want the public printing. THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER would not have the public printing. THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER does not want, and does not desire public patronage of any sort. THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER is an independent reform paper; and means to say just what it thinks upon the economic issues before the people; but it intends to make no factious fights, and engage in no personal conflicts with anybody for private gain. We advocate reforms for the sake of the reforms; and we mean to keep our hands and our conscience clean while doing this blessed work.

We have little hope that the above statements will be taken as true, by the little men who have measured our manhood with the rule of their own conscious meanness, and we have little care whether they are so taken or not by the contemptible fellows who stick out their lips at us.

IMPOVERISHING A DOZEN MEN AND ENRICHING ONE.

At a banquet given by the Reform Club of New York City, on the 23d ult., quite a number of distinguished gentlemen delivered speeches. Among them was the Governor of Iowa; and we reproduce his speech, as reported by the press, as worthy the serious consideration of all patriotic men. It will be seen that as far as he goes he plants himself squarely on the demands of the Alliance. He is right when he declares that agriculture shall be put on a different basis, or the politicians must prepare for a storm. Read and ponder his weighty and truthful words:

Gov. Horace Boies, of Iowa, was the next speaker, in response to the toast, "Our new allies in the Northwest; what our farmers have a right to demand."

The situation in his own State of Iowa, Mr. Boies thought, fairly reflected the condition of the agricultural classes throughout the Northwest, the principal food producing district of the continent. During the last five years the production of corn in Iowa had been carried on at a net yearly loss of 67 cents an acre, a condition of adversity which no other business in the country could have withstood. What is true of corn is equally true of all the great staples raised on farms. Had it been practicable for the farmers to withdraw their capital from this line of industry their numbers would have been greatly reduced; but this was impracticable, and from the very necessity of their situation they have continued a business, burdened with less, out of which this nation has gathered three-fourths of all its exports, and by reason of which it has been able to preserve a balance of trade in its favor that has constantly added to the national wealth. If the chief business of a country is being done at a loss, and yet the country as a whole is growing richer, there must be some flagrant error in the industrial system that produces such a result; that so operates that those who produce the greater part of the wealth do not enjoy it; that by law compels the great body of men engaged in agricultural pursuits to surrender to a few the profits of their labor; that, in short, impoverishes a dozen men where it enriches one.

There is no possible justification for a system of laws that produces, such a result. No plea for the nation's prosperity can smother the indefensible wrong that takes a single dollar from the earnings of one class of its citizens and bestows it as a bounty upon those of another. Time alone is required to divide these classes in this, the proudest Republic on the globe, as the human family is already divided in the aristocratic monarchies of the old world. It is infinitely better that this nation should remain poor, with its property distributed among all classes, than become the richest on the globe with its wealth concentrated in the hand of a few.

No tariff levied on products which a nation produces in excess of its own wants, which must find a market elsewhere, can have any effect upon the prices of such commodities. On the other hand a tariff upon foreign manufactured goods increases their cost and the cost of like goods produced at home, because of such goods we produce less than we use, and hence must supply our wants in part by importation.

But this increased cost is not the farmers' chief ground of complaint against protective tariff. A tariff that keeps the products of any foreign nation out of our market must to a considerable extent keep ours out of its

market, because of the fact that no nation could long pay in gold for any considerable amount of our products and escape bankruptcy. If we sell to foreign nations, we must buy of them. Inasmuch as our farmers supply three-fourths of all our exports, they are the chief sufferers from any policy that closes foreign markets against us. In conclusion, Gov. Boies said:

I want now to say to the business men of this nation, and to politicians as well, that some plan must be devised to get this industry on a different basis or this nation must prepare for a storm, the consequences of which—in both a political and economic sense—no man can measure.

I want to say further that the men engaged in this industry are not going to wait for a home market to grow up around them that is large enough to consume the enormous surplus they annually produce. It is relief for themselves and not for generations unborn that they demand.

Agriculturists are not the enemies of manufacturing industries. They will readily consent to stand before the law upon an equality of privileges with every other industry, but they will not consent to see their own destroyed that others may attain phenomenal success.

They are already thoroughly aroused. They are fast becoming as thoroughly organized. The law making power of this nation must revise the tariff in their interest or they will change the men who constitute that power.

Recalling the sentiment of my toast, "What our farmers have a right to demand," permit me to add they represent an industry as old at least as the civilization of man, as laborious as any that has ever fallen to his lot, without the successful prosecution of which the whole human family would lapse into barbarism and end in decay. A business that forms the base of every other, without which the channels of trade would run dry, the cities of the earth molder into dust, and the wealth of the world disappear.

Considered apart from their business they are the bone and sinew of this nation. With their own calloused hands they have produced the bulk of its wealth; in times of war they have been its sturdy defenders, in times of peace the promoters of its welfare.

Who shall set the limit of their rightful demand upon a country they have made and preserved?

They have a right to demand that in the future policy of this government no discrimination be made in favor of other industries at the expense of their own; that the power of the government to levy taxes be limited to the single purpose of raising necessary revenue to be economically expended; that all property bear its just portion of that burden; that markets broad enough to consume the products of their labor and capital at compensatory prices, be as carefully looked after and nurtured as those that consume the productions of labor and capital employed in other lines of business.

They may also demand that a currency which is good enough for one man shall be made good enough for all others and plenty enough to preserve a just equality between its value and the value of the products of labor in all legitimate kinds of business. That both the nation and the State shall exercise over lines of transportation at reasonable and just control, to the end that their products, the most bulky compared to their value of any produced, shall not be subject to be charged out of proportion to such value.

WHO OWNS THIS COUNTRY?

How Class Legislation Creates Millionsaires and Paupers.

Mr. Shearman's statement, reducing to tabular form the amount of wealth in the hands of persons worth over \$500,000 each in the United States, was about as follows:

Table with 3 columns: Number of persons, Amount of wealth, and Total. Rows include 200 persons at \$25,000,000, 400 persons at 10,000,000, 1,000 persons at 5,000,000, 2,000 persons at 2,500,000, 6,000 persons at 1,000,000, and 15,000 persons at 500,000.

Total \$31,500,000,000. This gave for the whole country a total of 9,600 millionaires. It also gave the startling result—as the aggregate wealth, according to the highest estimate, does not exceed \$50,000,000,000—that less than 25,000 persons possess more than one half of the entire national wealth, real and personal, of every name and nature. There is no region on earth where class legislation and the control of government by the money power are having a more injurious effect upon the masses, by the concentration of wealth in a few hands, than in the United States. As things are going, and have been going for thirty years, instead of being "the land of the free and the home of the brave," we shall be the land of the rich and the home of the slave.—Jackson, Mich., Patriot.

We thank our friends for what they helped us to accomplish in 1890. We began the year with a circulation of 11,520 and closed it with 18,240, a net gain of 6,720. We issued during the year 719,160 copies of the paper, averaging 13,830 per week the year round. Let each subscriber send us a few one at once and help us to double what we are now doing.